Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

# Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 04030 01 OF 02 241830Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /066 W
----------241920Z 025525 /44
P R 241659Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 432
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY OSLO
USMISSION NATO
USEC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 4030

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, SP
SUBJECT: ELECTION CAMPAIGN OFFICIALLY OPENS; POLLS STILL DIFFER

REF: MADRID 3826

1. THE OFFICIAL OPENING MAY 24 OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF COURSE CAUGHT ALL PARTIES AND CANDIDATES ALREADY GOING FULL TILT, BUT THE INTENSITY SHOULD PICK UP EVEN FURTHER OVER THE NEXT THREE WEEKS, WITH ALL PARTIES CAREFULLY PLANNING TO COME TO FULL CRESCENDO AT CAMPAIGN'S END. ASIDE FROM THE PICK-UP IN RHYTHM, THE PRINCIPAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN PERIOD AND THE UNABASHED CAMPAIGNING THAT HAS PRECENDED IT SHOULD BE THE TELEVISION TIME ALLOTED TO THE PARTIES, AND THE ALLOCATION OF TV TIME
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 04030 01 OF 02 241830Z

REMAINS A BONE OF CONTENTION.

2. DESPITE THE CAMPAIGNING THAT HAS ALREADY GONE ON, THE POLLS REPORTED IN THE VARIOUS (AND OFTEN PARTISAN) PUBLICATIONS CONTINUE TO DIVERGE CONSIDERABLY, AGREEING MAINLY ON THE CONTINUING HIGH NUMBER OF UNDECIDED AND ON THE PRIMACY OF THE SUAREZ-LED UCD. AND EVEN THOUGH

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

NO ONE DISPUTES THE NOTION THAT SUAREZ FORCES WILL WIN A PLURALITY, THE SIZE OF THAT PLURALITY STILL PROVOKES A VARIETY OF OPINION. ALIANZA POPULAR STOCK SEEMS TO HAVE DECLINED SOMEWHAT. ITS RHETORIC HAS SKEWED TO THE RIGHT IN RECENT WEEKS, PERHAPS FRIGHTENING SOME VOTERS. PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT, THE GOVERNMENT TAKE-OVER OF THE UCD HAS PROBABLY DEPRIVED THE ALIANZA POPULAR OF PART OF ITS PUTATIVE CONSTITUENCY OF LOCAL OFFICIALS AND VOTERS AFRAID OF ADVENTURES. TO A DEGREE, THE PSOE STOCK APPEARS TO BE INCREASING, WHILE THE OTHER SIGNIFICANT CONTENDERS (CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, COMMUNISTS) DO NOT SHOW SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT IN THE POLLS. AT ALL EVENTS, THE OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN, TO BE FOUGHT OUT IN THE PROVINCES, HAS JUST BEGUN AND WILL SURELY AFFECT VOTER PERCEPTIONS IN THE DAYS BEFORE JUNE 15.

3. WE GIVE BELOW THE LATEST POLL (IN "EL PAIS") WHICH IS SURE TO GET CONSIDERABLE FOREIGN PRESS ATTENTION IN ORDER, AS MUCH AS ANYTING, TO POINT UP THE PROBLEMS OF PUBLISHED POLLS. THE SOUNDING WAS CONDUCTED ON MAY 18 AND 19 IN THE FORM OF 1638 INTERVIEWS IN 68 SEPARATE POPULATION CENTERS. WHILE THE QTE MARGIN OF ERROR UNQTE IS PURPORTEDLY PLUS OR MINUS 2.5PERCENT, THERE IS NO INFORMATION AS TO THE DESIGN OF THE POLL AND ITS STRATIFICATION. IT WOULD IMMEDIATELY SEEM TO HAVE A BIAS AGAINST THE ALIANZA POPULAR (REFLECTED IN THE VERY LOW SUPPORT PERCENTAGES) BECAUSE IT IS LIMITED TO 68 CENTERS IN A NATION WITH 50 MAJOR ELECTORAL DISTRICTS AND A SIGNIFICANT MIX OF RURAL AND URBAN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



POPULATIONS. ALSO IN A COUNTRY WITH MARKED REGIONAL DIFFER-ENCES, AND NO HISTORY OF ELECTIONS AND, HENCE, NO PRE-ELECTION POLLING, SUCH A SAMPLE SEEMS QUITE LOW, A PHENOMENON REPEATED IN OTHER PUBLISHED POLLS. (WE ARE TOLD BY REPUTABLE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS, BOTH AMERICAN AND SPANISH, THAT THE MAKE UP OF SPAIN AND ITS CURRENT POLITICAL CONTEXT PROBABLY REQUIRES A CAREFULLY STRATI-FIED SAMPLE IN THE RANGE OF 6 TO 7 THOUSAND) NONETHELESS, THE "EL PAIS" POLL, WITH ITS HEAVY PERCENTAGE OF "DON'T KNOW"' , ITS PLURALITY FOR THE SUAREZ FORCES AND ITS NOTA-TION OF SIGNIFICANT PSOE STRENGTH DOES NOT VARY A GREAT DEAL (EXCEPT IN RESPECT OF THE ALIANZA POPULAR) FROM THE PROJECTIONS GIVEN US ON A VERY PRIVATE BASIS BY THE GOS CHIEF POLL TAKER (REF).

CONFIDENTIAL

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL


ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /066 W
----------241921Z 025854 /43
P R 241659Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 433
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY OSLO
USMISSION NATO
USEC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 4030

4. THE POLL RESULTS WERE AS FOLLOWS (THE FIRST COLUMN OF FIGURES IS FOR THE POLL PUBLISHED TODAY; THE SECOND FOR COMPARATIVE PURPOSE, IT FOR THE FIRST "EL PAIS" POLL OF MAY 10:

| | PERCENT | PERCENT |
|---|---|---|
| --UNION DE CENTRO DEMOCRATICO: | 20.1 | 19.0 |
| --PSOE: | 13.4 | 12.4 |
| --PCE: | 5.8 | 5.0 |
| --AP: | 5.7 | 4.5 |
| --PSP-FPS COALITION: | 3.9 | 5.1 |
| --FDC (CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS | 3.0 | 1.0 |
| --ASD (PSDE AND PSOE-H): | 1.7 | 0.3 |
| --FAR-LEFT INDEPENDENTS: | 1.4 | 0.8 |
| --FAR-RIGHT (ALIANZA NACIONAL): | 0.7 | 0.2 |

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| --OTHERS: | 3.8 | 8.4 |
| --UNDECIDED: | 25.7 | 28.4 |
| --NOT GOING TO VOTE: | 5.6 | 4.5 |
| --UNDECIDED ON WHETHER TO VOTE: | 9.2 | 10.4 |

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

100.0 100.0

5. OF THE 25.7PERCENT UNDECIDEDS, 9PERCENT INDICATED THEY CONSIDERED THEMSELVES CENTRISTS; 3PERCENT SOCIALIST; 1PERCENT SOCIAL DEOMCRATS; 1PERCEHNT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS; AND 1PERCENT "NEOFRANCOISTS," WITH SOME 10PERCENT STATING THEY WERE UNCERTAIN OF THIER GENERAL POLITICAL PREFERENCE.

6. IN TERMS OF PERSONAL POLITICAL POPULARITY, PRIME MINISTER SUAREZ NOT SURPRISINGLY ENJOYED ALMOST TWICE THE SUPPORT OF HIS CLOSEST COMPETITOR, WITH 37PERCENT OF THOSE POLLED INDICATING THAT HE WOULD BE THEIR FIRST OR SECOND CHOICE. PSOE SECGEN FELIPE GONZALEZ FOLLOWED IN SECOND PLACE WITH FIRST OR SECOND MENTION BY 19PERCENT OF THOSE POLLED, AND PSP PRESIDENT TIERNO GALVAN TRAILED IN THIRD PLACE WITH 9PERCENT (FOLLOWED BY PCE SECGEN CARRILLO (7PERCENT), AP LEADER FRAGA (7PERCENT), CATALAN CENTRIST JORDI PUJOL (4PERCENT), CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADER RUIZ GIMENEZ (4PERCENT), AND AP NOTABLE AND FORMER PRIME MINISTER ARIAS NAVARRO (4PERCENT)).

7. AS FOR UNPOPULARITY, IN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION WHICH OF THESE POLITICANS WOULD YOU NEVER VOTE FOR, FRAGA WAS NATED BY 32PERCENT CARRILLO BY 27PERCENT, PCE PRESIDENT IBARRURI BY 24PERCENT, ULTRA-RIGHTIST BLAS PINAR BY 21PERCENT, AND ARIAS NAVARRO BY 18PERCENT.

8. OF COURSE, ANY NATION-WIDE POLL WHICH DOES NOT ATTEMPT TO TRANSLATE POPULAR VOTE INTO NUMBERS OF PARLIAMENTRAY SEATS--THOUGH TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE EXISTENCE OF 50 DISTINCT MAJOR ELECTORAL DISTRICTS,
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



THE REAL, IF SMALL BIAS IN FAVOR OF THE SMALLEST PROVINCES (A 3 SEAT MINIMUM) AND THE MODEST AGGREGA-TIVE EFFECTS OF THE D'HONDT PR SYSTEM FOR THE LARG-EST PARTIES--MUST BE VIEWED WITH CAUTION. AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE DISPARATE RESULTS OBTAINED BY DIFFERING APPROACHES TO THE QUESTION, MADRID WEEKLY MAGAZINE "OPINION" RECENTLY PUBLISHED A GUESSTIMATE (WITH EVEN LESS CLAIM TO VALIDITY THAN THE "EL PAIS" POLLS) WHICH POSTED THE FOLLOWING DISTRIBUTION OF THE CORTES' 350 LOWER-HOUSE SEATS:

--THE CENTER (CENTRO DEMOCRATICO, CHRISTIAN DEMO-CRATS, ASD, AND CANTARERO'S RSE): 176 SEATS (I.E., A MAJORITY OF 1);

--THE RIGHT (ALIANZA POPULAR AND ALIANZA NACIONAL): 91 SEATS;

--THE LEFT (SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS): 49 SEATS;

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

AND
--REGIONAL GROUPINGS: 34 SEATS.STABLER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

# Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
**Channel Indicators:** n/a
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED
**Concepts:** ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, PUBLIC OPINION POLLS, ELECTION FORECASTS
**Control Number:** n/a
**Copy:** SINGLE
**Sent Date:** 24-May-1977 12:00:00 am
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
**Decaption Note:**
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED
**Disposition Approved on Date:**
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009
**Disposition Event:**
**Disposition History:** n/a
**Disposition Reason:**
**Disposition Remarks:**
**Document Number:** 1977MADRID04030
**Document Source:** CORE
**Document Unique ID:** 00
**Drafter:** n/a
**Enclosure:** n/a
**Executive Order:** GS
**Errors:** N/A
**Expiration:**
**Film Number:** D770185-0285
**Format:** TEL
**From:** MADRID
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Image Path:**
**ISecure:** 1
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770524/aaaaauqk.tel
**Line Count:** 226
**Litigation Code IDs:**
**Litigation Codes:**
**Litigation History:**
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
**Message ID:** 7fbe568b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
**Office:** ACTION EUR
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Page Count:** 5
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Reference:** 77 MADRID 3826
**Retention:** 0
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED
**Review Content Flags:**
**Review Date:** 21-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
**Review Event:**
**Review Exemptions:** n/a
**Review Media Identifier:**
**Review Release Date:** n/a
**Review Release Event:** n/a
**Review Transfer Date:**
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a
**SAS ID:** 2393101
**Secure:** OPEN
**Status:** NATIVE
**Subject:** ELECTION CAMPAIGN OFFICIALLY OPENS; POLLS STILL DIFFER
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, SP
**To:** STATE
**Type:** TE
**vdkvgwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/7fbe568b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
**Review Markings:**
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009